171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
[252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampf) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane
[237] shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

122 437 [533] [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

Chapter 9

[114:185] The Diet

262 824 [772] The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. 'Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

[171] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 ●252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
824 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the
[252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaí in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 824 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.

●252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá, [171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Pénа (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel 264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

262 824 (2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé" [252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanynî.

(4) The banana called abîbakîngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah´ banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Paresi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpé.

243 252 262 824 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 252 262 824 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 824 [462] [241] [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts, maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that requires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's [751] first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 17 244 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monovĩ differs from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitãua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe. Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumanã, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:138] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitãua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumanã-yvyraĩ, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as receptacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice. This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 262 824 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 263 114 [177] Kamairabó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plantation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any. The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the [171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

252 262 These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language), sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people 171 252 262 192 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.

According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitãua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable dish is unquestionably cauĩ. [Ed., five sentences are omitted.] In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauĩ is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé designate with the word kauĩ their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water (ỹ-kauĩ), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauĩ of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with carĩ or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the three kinds of cauĩ that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds, peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they prepared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then
●252 boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monoví-
272 kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monoví-kauí." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Souza (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumás by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruí-kauí. Kuruí may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumás" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatyikí
[192] means "I chew," and andjahík, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[858] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
● 252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avẽn in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 15) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4, [117:92] L 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 28) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 30). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tamplitsua use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

252 [251] In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 252 [359] The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) observed among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do [481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the 252 462 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man, if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering's book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krahó [Crahó] Indians settled without biting.

171
264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262
252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aõ means "I eat," and ayõ "I drink water," the õ sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid pepetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

227
716

Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekif) with Ipayva (No. 106) sitting beside it.

252
354
417

Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

I:Baldus--183 E-6 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 Sp22 Tapirapé Sp22

192
476
574
264
[101]

that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171
824
[194]

The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192]

The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tatáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264
476
574
[611]

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

173
[622]

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ', was a Pananĭvũána. As I lived in Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264
476
574
[608]

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

[621]

264
574
621

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

●[252]

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [197] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

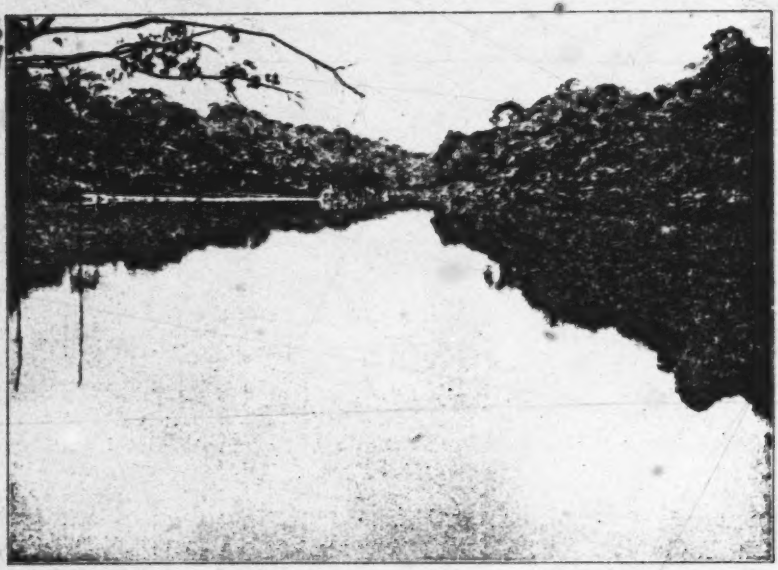
The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãũĩ, peanut kãũi, cottonseed kãũĩ, toasted karã, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxá from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

5: Krause--18 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirapé SP02

133
137



1. Lake blocked off by a fence on the Tapirapé River. View from the end of the lake.

137
252

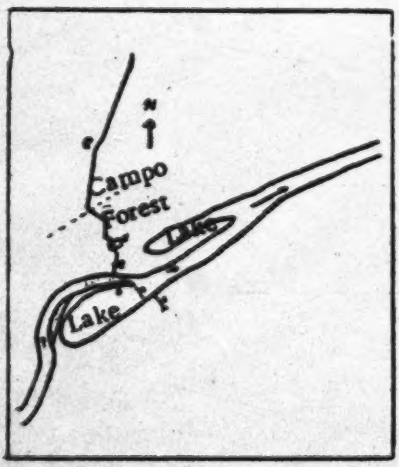
2. Tapirapé grill in the forest.

/Pl. 29 faces p. 124./

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22
C
225

Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

T
102
133
226
252
361
487



a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

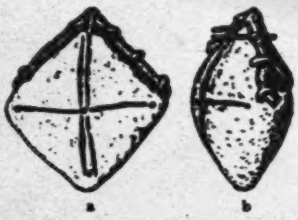
/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects Of 1/4 actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã̆; urucú, kãã̆; tobacco, bãdũ̆mã̆.

114 [131] 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

532



Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[224] [259] The traces that I came across were the following: on the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 339-339-- Analyst]

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

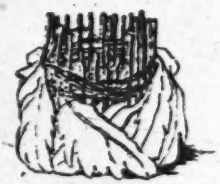
241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

/409 cont./

still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even pirarucús, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26) shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.



Ill. 268.
Turtle cage.

The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks

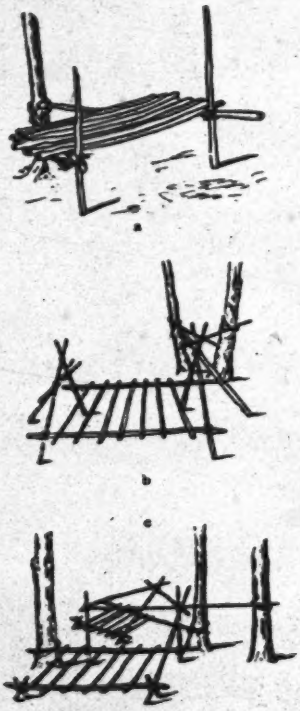
/409 cont./

252 were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size
[412] with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

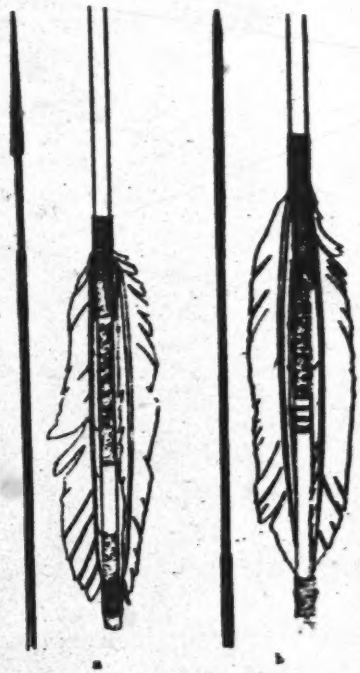
251 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians
482

252 ←

411 →



Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.



Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose
482 they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

648 [141] The superiority complex, a characteristic product of ethnocentrism, is not lacking among the new inhabitants of the Tapirapé River. These people, who are called caboclo [backwoodsmen] by the city dwellers of Rio and São Paulo, in turn call the Indians by this term, thus following the custom of the north Brazilians. To us, caboclo is the man who goes barefoot. To those shoeless frontiersmen, however, caboclo is the man who does not even bother to wear pants. Although pants and shoes delimit the cultural distance that separates them from the Indians on the one hand and from us on the other hand, there is one fact that marks them as members of our society and of no other. These poor conquerors of the unknown are not exempt from taxes. They have to pay them in heads of cattle.

Concerning this, one should mention the historic settlement of São José, an aggregation of about 30 houses, swarming with disease and misery, located at one of the most beautiful spots on the Araguaia. The inhabitants pay taxes of various sorts and say that the government does nothing for them. They pay a school tax, for example, but they have no school. Our companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira, was the first doctor to visit them in 20 years. When the launch of the Indian Service goes by, these forlorn inhabitants of Goiás get a few medicines.

What would contribute to the frontiersman's feeling of superiority over the Indian, however, aside from the pants and the taxes, the taxes which enable him to belong to the capitalist world? Rifles are already found among the Karajá. And the Indians of the Araguaia are better fed, wash more often, and, as disclosed by the medical examination, suffer less from malaria and enjoy better general health than the so-called "civilized people" around them, who are for the most part, incidentally, Negroes and mulattoes. As an ethnocentric man, however, the frontiersman regards everything that differs from his own culture as inferior. The cultural differences between him and the Indian extend so thoroughly to every aspect of life, moreover, that they almost conceal the similarities caused by the identical geographical environment and by the fact that both groups belong to the same human species. Such tasty Indian dishes as the peanut, maize, and manioc soups, masticated by the women to saccharify them with the saliva, are, to the frontiersman, "filthy stuff" from which he turns in disgust. Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and

[262] [252]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 133 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

242 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Tapirapé do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

Wild foods.—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tĩkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is